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&c. &c. &c.

For JUNE, 1806.

Vitam regit Fortuna, non sapientia.

CICERO.

ORIGINAL CRITICISM.

A Treatise on the Origin, Progress, Prevention, and Treatment of Consumption. By John Reid, M. D. Member of the Royal College of Physicians, London; Senior Physician to the Finsbury Dispensary, and Lecturer on the Theory and Practice of Medicine. 8vo. Pp. 317. Phillips. London.

THIS work will not fail to excite a peculiar interest, as it treats of a most formidable and frequent disease—a disease which seldom, or never, fails to destroy the object of its attack, and which may be said to be the very scourge of these islands. How often does it break in upon the happiness of the domestic circle, laying its brightest hopes—the promising son or amiable daughter—in an untimely grave? What numbers does it yearly, nay, daily, add to the bills of mortality? The subject of the work before us, therefore, comes home to the bosom of every one—to the individual for himself, the parent for his family, the politician for the welfare of the state. If, as the author has well observed in his preface, "if, amidst the various modifications of disease incident to man, there be one which claims a pre-eminent attention, both from the medical profession, and the public at large, it is *that*, the elucidation of whose nature, origin, progress, and treatment, constitutes the principal object of the following pages."

The importance of the subject, therefore, demands that we should not pass it over in a cursory manner: we shall follow our author throughout the greatest part of his work, and then offer a few general observations.

He is professedly a disciple of the Brunonian school, and the principles of the *Elementa Medicinæ*, generally speaking, are the groundwork of all his reasonings. In his introductory chapter, therefore, after pointing out the difficulties of defining diseases, and the ancient and modern hypotheses concerning pulmonary consumption, he states the outlines of the Brunonian doctrine, which, says he, "whatever may be its extravagancies or defects, is the only theory of medicine that, in its first principles, rests upon the firm and indestructible base of a genuine philosophy."

His second chapter contains the anatomy of the lungs, &c.; and, in the third, he naturally proceeds to the consideration of the agent which operates upon them—the air of the atmosphere. He first states the opinions of the ancient philosophers on this subject; secondly, he adverts to the discovery of its physical properties; thirdly, he traces the steps by which the moderns were led to the important discovery of its chemical composition; and concludes with an account of the manner in which the analysis of atmospherical air is best effected, and of the most remarkable sensible qualities possessed by each of its constituent parts.

In the fourth chapter, our author considers the physiology of respiration; and he informs us, that "it is to what has generally been regarded as the chemistry of respiration (if he be allowed the expression), he purposes to confine his observations." But before he engages in considering the change which the air undergoes from its reception into the vesicles of the lungs, he acquaints his reader with the nature of this important discovery. He then adverts to the chemical theory of respiration, as connected with animal temperature, and proceeds to offer some objections to it, observing, in conclusion,

"That the extensive improvements in chemistry, in their application to the philosophy of *life*, can merely be instrumental, by enlarging our sphere of knowledge with respect to the action of exciting powers on the irritable or vital principle. Animate and inanimate nature cannot be made to amalgamate even in the ingeniously constructed crucible of the modern chemist."—"Man has been restored to his proper station in the centre"—"a station which he will obstinately and proudly maintain, notwithstanding the powerful allurements of chemical attractions."

From these observations, it might seem that our author is no great admirer of chemical physiology; he delivers his doctrine on this subject at the commencement of his fifth chapter.

"That various processes take place in the animate body," says he, "which, with respect to their partial operation, deserve to be regarded as strictly chemical, the writer of these pages by no means intends to dispute. From the cursory remarks which have been offered in the preceding chapter, on the subject of respiration as connected with animal temperature, it will be seen, that the advantages derived from what the author considers an appropriate application of the doctrines of chemistry to the science of living existence, are admitted in all their extent. While, however,

however, the utility is acknowledged of chemical physiology, both as it relates to the philosophy of life, and the origin and nature of several disordered affections, the combinations of chemistry ought always to be regarded as subordinate to, and effected by, the agency of the vital principle."

The remainder of this chapter is employed in considering the cutaneous perspiration, and its connexion with the temperature of the body, as illustrated by Dr. Currie, and in some general remarks on the qualification required in the reception of his doctrine.

From the anatomy and physiology of the pulmonary organs, the reader's attention is transferred to their respective disordered conditions, as far as such disorders have relation to genuine consumptive affections. These disorders, according to the author, are, hæmoptysis, catarrh, pneumonia, and tubercles, to the consideration of each of which, he allots a separate chapter.

It is to be understood, however, that genuine pthisis is not always preceded by other affections.

"Genuine pthisis," says he, "so far from occurring invariably, as a consequence of pulmonary hæmorrhage, frequently, and for the most part, originates without the intervention of actual or decided disease. The insidious approach of consumption of the lungs, constitutes, indeed, its principal characteristic. The fabric of the constitution is frequently destroyed, by its foundation being gradually and imperceptibly undermined. The disorder has often been firmly rooted in the system, before the superficial observer has even suspected its existence."

It is true, however, as our author adds, that "pulmonary consumption is not unfrequently preceded by other affections;" and therefore he has very properly introduced the consideration of these affections, before he proceeds to point out "the more secret, silent, and circuitous march of this destructive enemy to the human race."

The sixth chapter, in the order of the work, therefore, is dedicated to the consideration of hæmoptysis, as a precursor of pulmonary consumption; and we have, first, a detail of its symptoms, and, then, of its exciting causes.

Here the author premises, "in illustration of the manner in which these causes operate in the production of the disease, that the term hæmorrhage necessarily implies debility. This debility may be either partial or general; either produced in a direct or indirect manner. That weakness which occasions rupture in any portion of the vascular system, may arise from inordinate force in the circulating power overcoming the tone of vessels, in the part particularly injured, or it may be consequent upon deficient excitement of the general frame, directed, by accidental circumstances, to such part.

"Had these simple and incontrovertible principles been retained in the memory," continues he, "and acted upon by the framers of hypotheses on the pathology of hæmorrhage, many absurd doctrines, and unfounded speculations on the nature, and, as it is termed, without much precision of

language, proximate cause, of these affections would have been prevented; but the simplicity of truth has been disregarded for the pomp of verbose philosophy, and accumulations of error have been the unavoidable consequence."

Having made these preliminary observations, the author proceeds to the consideration of the exciting causes of the disease in question; and here he combats the opinion, that "a sudden diminution in the weight of the atmosphere overcoming the tonic and retentive power of the vascular organization," is a direct or immediate cause of this affection; summing up his doctrine in the following words: "To undue action, occasioning debility, and consequent rupture of vessels, are we, therefore, to ascribe the occurrence of pulmonary hæmorrhage, and not to the mechanical production of laxity from unequal pressure, or the rarefaction and expansion of circulating blood."

On these principles, generally speaking, he lays down the treatment of this disease; first offering some introductory observations, in which he cautions against the danger of indiscriminate depletion; then proposing and discussing the following question: *astringents—in what manner do they operate?* and lastly, considering its particular treatment.

We come now to the seventh chapter of this interesting work, which treats of catarrh, its obvious and more particular connexion with pthisis pulmonalis, its symptoms, causes, and general treatment.

The eighth chapter is employed in considering pneumonia, or inflammation of the lungs, its similarity with catarrh, the improper distinctions of authors in respect to catarrh and pneumonia, its symptoms, its causes, and its cure.

We class these two chapters together, because our author considers catarrh and pneumonia as being similar in their nature, and differing only in degree*.

"A cold," says he, "if the term be applied to denote inflammatory defluxion, from that portion of the vascular and very irritable membrane which is not merely confined to the nostrils, fauces, and trachea, but is extended through the whole internal surface of the lungs, has not merely an intimate connexion with an actual inflammation of these organs, but is, in reality, the same disease, differing alone in degree. This identity of catarrhal and pulmonary inflammation it is important to recollect. Nothing, perhaps, is more injurious to medical science than an exuberant multiplicity

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* His reasons for treating of them separately are in the following words: "it may therefore excite surprize, that the author should devote a separate chapter to the consideration of pneumonia, as a disorder precursory of consumption. To this distinction he has been directed, principally from a consideration of the dissimilar manner in which the foundation is laid of genuine pthisis, by the different degrees of pulmonary inflammation; and, indeed, however erroneous may be the principles upon which scientific nomenclature is established, considerable innovations are invariably to be regarded as involving the hazard of experiment."

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of nosological distinctions, which, in reality, serve no other purpose than to mislead and betray. By regarding that membrane which lines the internal surface of the nostrils, as extended through the bronchia, and, at length, forming those numerous air-vesicles of the lungs which have already been described as one continued, very vascular, and irritable covering to this large expansion of surface, comprehension will be materially assisted in tracing the intimate connexion of the respective disorders of these organs, which have been erroneously imagined to possess a specific variety in character, and the gradations, from slight or incipient catarrh to genuine and confirmed consumption, will thus present themselves to view, unobscured by the clouds of artificial discrimination."

This simple and connected view of the subject we cannot but admire, and, in a practical point of view, it is of the greatest utility. But our author does not stop here; from catarrh and pneumonia, he extends his reasoning to pleuritis, pointing out the connexion among all forms of pulmonary inflammation, whatever complexional character they may, at different times, assume.

He founds his doctrine on the similarity of the exciting causes of these inflammations.

"In consequence of improper exertion of muscular energy, inhalation of air too stimulating in quality, excitation of violent passions, or improper exposure to heat or cold; a rupture of blood-vessels, and consequent hæmorrhage from the lungs; a species of temporary catarrh, or an inflammatory affection of part of the mucous membrane, or a more violent irritation in these organs and their surrounding membranes, according to constitutional susceptibility, shall be respectively occasioned."

We would fain follow our author through his *rationale* of the exciting causes of catarrh and pneumonia, and his treatment of these diseases, as well as advert to his observations on the eruptive disorders which have a reference to the production of pthisical disorganization, and the mode which he proposes in obviating their tendency to this effect; but, lest we should exceed our limits, and not have room to lay before our readers so full an analysis of the remaining parts of the work as their importance demands, we pass on to the ninth chapter, which relates to tubercles, and the different modes in which the lungs become ulcerated.

On these subjects, after some preliminary observations, the author inquires into the nature of tubercles, finds the opinion erroneous that they are indurated glands, describes their structure, and traces them from their beginning till they unite, and form *vomicæ*. He now investigates their origin and peculiarities, and opposes the opinion, that they are invariably of a scrophulous nature, observing, that

"Scrophula, perhaps, has no further relation, even to genuine tubercular pthisis, than by imparting an increase of susceptibility to those causes which, operating to a certain extent, would invariably occasion the disorder;" and that they "may be regarded as the consequence of slight and repeated inflammation, originating in the mucous membrane of

the lungs, and extending itself into the cellular texture of these organs, depositing the matter of which these bodies are constituted that remains unabsorbed and inactive, until excited into the formation of abscess by fresh and repeated irritation. When this inflammation is excited by causes that obviously act as mechanical irritants, the nidus of the tubercular bodies is frequently composed of a collection of such irritating materials as in the instance of stone-cutters. This circumstance likewise occurred in those experiments upon animals above alluded to, where the matter which produced the disease was found lodged in the centre of the tubercles which were thus evidently generated from external sources."

The nature and origin of tubercles being explained, he proceeds to consider the mode in which they produce confirmed consumption; and then we have the theory of pulmonary ulceration, as arising from hæmoptysis and pneumonia, and the chapter concludes with an account of the partial and confined ulcer of the lungs.

The tenth chapter is dedicated to the consideration of the disposing and immediately exciting causes of consumption; and here the author first considers the predisposition to phthisis from organic structure.—This is of two kinds—external and internal; the former applying "to the mere form and structure of the corporeal frame;" and the latter to "the mechanical and physical condition of the several materials that are ingredients in its composition." The former is described, and then he proceeds to the consideration of the scrophulous temperament. Of this he mentions three varieties, and delineates them particularly as having an important relation to preventive medicine. Age and sex, and the occupations in life which assist predisposition, or obviously excite to pulmonary consumption, are the next subjects of consideration; and lastly, those occupations which occasion an immunity from it.

The eleventh chapter treats of the means of restraining the consumptive disposition. This is a most important subject, and the author has handled it with his usual acumen. It is written in a popular style, and he first adverts to the prospect of improvement in medicine, from the circulation of medical philosophy beyond the bounds of professional inclosure. He then proceeds to the proper business of the chapter, and considers the influence of particular climates and places, and of dietetic and medical regimen, in restraining the consumptive disposition. He views the danger of *empirical remedies for coughs, colds, and consumptions*, and the mode in which the phthisical tendency in infants is often engendered or increased. On these subjects he makes the following judicious remarks:

"Many consumptive affections have been originally implanted in the nursery, fostered by boarding school regimen, and made to expand by *infallible remedies for coughs, colds, and consumptions*. That hardy empiricism, however, which, for individual profit, occasions permanent and irreparable injury to the health and consequent happiness of either, unconscious or unsuspecting individuals, deserves, in an equal degree, the severity of reproach; nor can the plea of ignorance of consequences justly claim any thing

thing further than a slight mitigation of the austerity of censure."—"Consumptive is a vast pit-fall, situated on the high road of life."—"Empiricism is the treacherous hand which, under false pretences, conducts to its margin and precipitates the fatal descent. When the English nation shall be firmly convinced that *sweeteners of the blood, antiscorbutics, remedies for colds*, and according to the observation of the astonished Chinese philosopher,"—"for every disease to which the human frame is subject,"—"are either altogether inert, or highly injurious by their indiscriminate administration, and shall direct its attention to the judicious regulation of diet, clothing, and other means of counteracting the rigour of an inclement climate; disease, in general, will be of less frequent occurrence, and the list of consumptive affections will undergo a very considerable diminution."

We have now some observations on foxglove, or digitalis, and on clothing and habitations, as preventives of consumption. The subject of clothing the author resolves into two points—either as it relates to impediments in the growth and functions of the body, from inequalities of pressure, or as occasioning an improper exposure to irregularities, in external temperature; and as to habitations, he points out the superiority of other nations to the British in this respect, as well as the peculiarities of their dress, explaining the immunity of these nations from pthisical affections, and other diseases which depend on the undue action of temperature.

His next subject is exercise of the body in general, and of the pulmonary organs in particular, and he closes the chapter with a very important dissertation on warm and cold bathing.

In the twelfth chapter we are presented with the history and treatment of pulmonary consumption; and, in order to trace its characters with as much accuracy as the subject will permit, the author pauses at different stages of his progress, to introduce farther remarks on their origin, and on the method of treatment required in the different periods of the disorder.

In pursuance of this plan, he details the primary symptoms of the disease, and notices the irregularities of its approach, observing, that a series of symptoms are sometimes displayed, as indications of the occurrence and establishment of the disorder; while, at other times, a very slender foundation is afforded for suspicion, until doubt be exchanged for absolute certainty. The appearance of hectic fever, in a more or less exquisite form, he considers as the most distinctive mark of pthisical irritation in the pulmonary organs; and, therefore, he stops here to make some general observations on the characters and cause of this symptom.

He then proceeds with the history of the progress of the symptoms, and considers the treatment of the disease in its more early stages, observing, that "it is alone in the primary stages of the disorder, that we have a well-founded hope of being able to arrest its career;" and here his chief reliance is on digitalis. "Digitalis," says he, "is a remedy for pulmonary consumption in its earlier periods,

which, under due regulations, and with sufficient attention to other circumstances of regimen and diet, may be employed with a prospect of almost invariable relief." These circumstances and regulations he points out, and offers a theory of the mode in which digitalis produces its salutary effects.

But pulmonary consumption is not always a primary and unmixed disease; it often occurs in connexion with, and as a consequence of, other important derangements in the animal economy; it is often combined with chlorosis and amenorrhæa. In these cases the author modifies his method of cure, and directs his treatment to the primary disease, as the best mode of retarding, or removing the pulmonary affection.

Having discussed these topics, he offers some remarks on certain substances, which have either been employed as palliatives, or as specifics, in pulmonary consumption, and then returns to its history; tracing it in its confirmed stages, and concluding with some general observations on the treatment which has been proposed and adopted, when the lungs are unequivocally and extensively ulcerated.

We have now arrived at the thirteenth and last chapter of this important work, in the beginning of which the author points out the defects of nosology in general, and of the nosological definition of pthisis pulmonalis in particular, observing, that "we are left to search for other criteria of the essential nature of diseased affections, than those with which we are supplied by nosological systems, the ascertaining of which is incalculably important." He, therefore, employs the subsequent parts of this chapter, in presenting his reader with additional remarks on the counterfeit resemblances of genuine pulmonary disorganization; endeavouring, in the first place, to demonstrate the manner in which emaciation, debility and hectic, are often produced independently of disorder in the lungs; then, proceeding to trace the derivation, and mark the peculiarities of those coughs that are not consumptive, and offering some general suggestions on the different sources of pains in the breast, and impeded respiration; and now, after attempting to describe the mode in which these expressions of disease, whether exhibited separately, or union, are most effectually subdued, concluding the subject with a few concise and well-written remarks, which we shall lay before our readers, as they contain a connected summary of the author's doctrines.

"The facility of obviating a constitutional tendency to, or repressing the primary symptoms of, pthisis pulmonalis, is proportioned to its difficulty of cure when the characters of the disorder are fully confirmed, and the texture of the lungs almost wholly destroyed.

"Preventive measures should commence with infancy. The physical temperament, like the moral character, retains through life the stamp of early impression.

"A regular supply of nutritive aliment, such a mode of dress as is not calculated in any measure to interrupt growth, or impede functions, with unrestrained exercise, and the free enjoyments of an unsophisticated

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and salubrious atmosphere, are the most effectual barriers against the invasion of this disease.

" That idea, however, which is by far too prevalent, of confirming health and ensuring hardiness by casual and transient exposure to natural or artificial severities, while an effeminate, or debilitating mode of living is indulged, appears fundamentally erroneous. The tender and fragile plant of the hot-house would be destroyed, or irrecoverably injured, by that degree of cold which is congenial and salutary to the growth of natural or unassisted vegetation.

" The *living* fibre is not braced and strengthened upon the principles of mechanical corrugation, or chemical attraction. An indiscriminate employment of cold immersion too often establishes those symptoms of weakness which it is intended to remove, and accelerates the disorder that (which) it is imagined to prevent. That degree of cold which is unpleasant to the sensations, whether applied generally, or only to a part of the surface of the body, ought, in an especial manner, by the pthisical to be fearfully avoided. When pulmonary disease is actually present, this caution is still more requisite.

" Transitions from an extremely high to a very low temperature may, for the most part, be made with impunity. It is the reverse transition from which danger is chiefly to be apprehended. What is denominated catching a cold, ought rather to be called catching a heat. The sudden application, however, of exterior heat, after its temporary subduction, is not absolutely necessary in order to produce the symptoms of catarrh.

" Plunging into cold water, immediately after exercise, is attended with danger, in proportion to previous fatigue or exhaustion. It is in some measure upon similar principles that catarrhs and consumptions are induced, by suddenly passing, from the crouded apartment of a midnight assembly, to a frigid and damp atmosphere.

" Coughs are by no means absolute indications of catarrhal affection. The idea of *specific remedies for coughs and colds*, is founded upon a total ignorance of the laws and functions of the animal economy. It is equally inconsistent with, and contrary to both philosophical principles and actual experience, as (with) the vulgar and empirical notion of correcting impurities in the blood.

" Urgent pain is often unaccompanied by inflammation, or increase of local excitement. It is in many instances consequent upon the difficulty and labour with which an enfeebled organ performs its accustomed and salutary action. An importunate demand for invigorating resources, is too commonly supplied by enervating powers.

" The flushed cheek and emaciated appearance are the most faithful attendants upon genuine pthisis. Even these, however, are not absolute indications, either of the presence or absence of pulmonary consumption.

" A familiarity with the physiognomy of this disease can only be acquired by an assiduous attention to its ever-varying shades, and by carefully marking its multifarious expressions. In proportion, however, to the difficulty of the task is the necessity of its accomplishment. Delays and errors are here especially to be dreaded. Decision comes too late, when not merely the nature of the disorder, but likewise its fatal termination, almost ceases to be a subject of doubt or inquiry. To

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know the rocks on which his vessel has foundered, affords but small consolation to the shipwrecked mariner."

Thus the author concludes his work, and we shall conclude our notice of it with a few general and brief observations.

During the prevalence of the humoral and phlogistic pathologies, pulmonary consumption, like all other diseases, was treated by antiphlogistic regimen and antiphlogistic practice. Pains in the breast and difficulty of breathing were taken as sufficient indications of inflammation, obstruction, and plethora. Practitioners had no idea of "the difficulty and labour with which an enfeebled organ performs its accustomed and salutary action." They abstracted the vital fluid to remove plethora—they starved the patient by a strict and meagre diet to conquer a phlogistic diathesis. Hypotheses introduced the practice—custom sanctioned it, and, in spite of its never having cured one case of genuine consumption, fashion has handed it down almost pure until this very day.

A better philosophy presents the consumptive sufferer with better hopes. This philosophy our ingenious author has adopted in his work. He has viewed the causes of pulmonary consumption, and he has found it to be a disease of disorganization, or debility. On this doctrine he founds his leading indication of cure. Debilitating powers are to be avoided, and invigorating and restorative agents employed, such agents as may produce opposite effects to those which caused the disease—a method of cure which "rests upon the firm and indestructible base of a genuine philosophy."

This work is written, partly in a popular style, and the author offers an apology to the medical reader for this part of his conduct, bidding him recollect that he "is sanctioned in such apparent deviation from regularity by the first and brightest names in his own profession." But why this apology? Surely the diffusion of knowledge among mankind, and a knowledge which, of all others, concerns them the most, requires the sanction of no authority. We hope to see the number of popular medical works daily multiplied—such as would circulate a "medical philosophy of a proper kind." Then, indeed, would the empirics be under the necessity of "burning their miserable wares;" for then would "the English nation be firmly convinced," that many of the substances which they employ as medicine, "are either altogether inert, or highly injurious." The man who lends his aid in the diffusion of this philosophy, is certainly a real benefactor to his country.

Strictures

Strictures upon an Historical Review of the State of Ireland, by Francis Plowden, Esq. or, a Justification of the Conduct of the English Government in that Country, from the Reign of Henry II. to the Union of Great Britain and Ireland. Part the Second.

(Concluded from page 37.)

"IN the year 1798, the General commanding at Cork was ordered to send part of the garrison to assist in the attack on Vinegar Hill, but he positively refused, as he constantly dreaded a general insurrection in that city.

On the landing of 1000 French, in 1798, in a country suppposed to be peaceable and loyal, they were joined by many thousand Papists, headed by their priests; the multitude were on the tip-toe of insurrection, in three provinces, and in many places did actually rise and commit barbarous outrages.

After the battle of Castlebar, General Dundas, commanding in the County of Kildare, was ordered by Lord Cornwallis, then pursuing the French, to send him large reinforcements; but he detained the greater part of them, for he dreaded a general insurrection in that County, as notices had been posted in many places, inciting the people to rise, and great numbers had left their houses. This evinces, that there is as much Popish disaffection in Ireland at this time, as in the reign of Elizabeth. It proves also the truth of the following position, urged by Mr. Plowden, in a book entitled, "The Case stated," page 17—"If any one says, or pretends to insinuate, that the modern Roman Catholics, who are the objects of the late bounty of Parliament, differ in one iota from their predecessors, he is either deceived himself, or he wishes to deceive others. *Semper eadem* is more emphatically descriptive of our religion, than of our jurisprudence." What opinion must the Public entertain of Mr. Plowden's understanding, when he, who is one of the most sanguine advocates of the Roman Catholics, advanced a position so injurious to them?

The constant and successful interference of the Pope, and the Irish ecclesiastics, in inciting the people to rebel, evince, contrary to Mr. Plowden's assertion, that superstitious bigotry was the main spring of action in all the rebellions of Elizabeth's reign. With his usual dullness he quotes O'Sullivan, an Irish historian, as noted for falsity as fanaticism, to prove the contrary; and yet this wretched annalist ostentatiously boasts, that during the rebellion of Tyrone the Irish Papists submitted the following question to the Spanish Universities of Salamanca and Valladolid:—"Whether an Irish Papist may obey or assist his Protestant Sovereign?" They gave the following answer, which, having been sedulously circulated by the Irish clergy, tended to feed the flame of rebellion:—"1st, Since the Earl of Tyrone undertook the war for religion, and by the Pope's approbation, it was as meritorious to aid him against the heretics, as to fight against the Turks.—

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2d, That it was a mortal sin any way to assist the English against him; and that those who did so, could neither have absolution, nor salvation, without deserting the heretics, and repenting of so great a crime *."

The English Roman Catholics, in the year 1791, published a condemnation of these abominable doctrines by the same Universities, with the opinion of these and other Popish seminaries, that they were not tenets of the Roman Catholic Church; and the Catholic Committee of Ireland did so in 1792, though they are strictly enjoined as articles of faith by many of their general councils; and they have been uniformly carried into practice in all the Irish rebellions.—O'Sullivan calls the contrary of this opinion, "*insanam et venenosam doctrinam.*"

Besides various Papal briefs and epistles, which were circulated during this reign by the Romish clergy to incite the people to rebellion, the following bulls were published:—one by Pius V. in 1569; one by Gregory XIII. in 1580; one by Sextus V. in 1587; and one by Clement VIII. in the year 1600.

Mr. Plowden often imputes the rebellions in this reign to the violence offered to the religious prejudices of the Irish; though, as we have already proved, they never experienced any constraint on that ground. The traitor Tyrone sued for pardon in the year 1695; and Moryson, page 15, observes thereon, "his humble petitions were, that he and his might be pardoned, and have free exercise of religion granted, *which, however, had never before either been punished or inquired after.*"

We before observed, that Mr. Plowden would not allow Elizabeth, whose government he so grossly libels and calumniates, the merit and glory of having subdued the Irish; for he says, page 87, "Under him (James I.) for the first time was the spirit of resistance to the English power broken down." Sir John Davies, much respected for his veracity, contradicts Mr. Plowden, and says—

"So as now this great work did remain to be performed by Queen Elizabeth, who, though she was diverted by suppressing the open rebellion in the North, by preventing divers conspiracies against her person †, by giving aids to the French, and the States of the Low Countries, by maintaining a naval war with Spain for many years together, yet the sundry rebellions, joyned with foreign invasions upon this island, whereby it was in danger to be utterly lost, and to be possessed by the enemies of the Crown of England, did quicken her Majesty's care for the preservation thereof, and to that end, from time to time, during her reign, she sent over supplies of men and treasure, as did suppress the rebels, and repel the invaders; but when the general defection came, which came not without a special providence, for the final good of the kingdom though the second causes thereof were the faint prosecution of the war against

* O'Sullivan's Catholic History, p. 203.
† Formed by Priests and Jesuits in England.

Tyrone,

Tyrone, the *practices of Priests and Jesuits, and the exportation of aids from Spain*.*"

And again Sir John Davies observes—

"But why was not *this great work performed before the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign*, considering that many of the kings, her progenitors, were as great captains as any in the world, and had larger dominions and territories? First, who can tell whether the divine wisdom, to abate the glory of these kings, did not reserve this work to be done by a Queen, that it may appear to be his own immediate work? and yet for her great honour made it the last of her great actions, as it were to crown all the rest."

Mr. Plowden, in page 106, speaks thus of Sir John Davies:—"There is no question but Sir John D. has written with more truth and impartiality, than any of his cotemporary authors †.

It is certain that the Irish Papists experienced infinitely more lenity than their fellow votaries in England; for, notwithstanding the unabated treasonable conspiracies and practices of the former, no penal laws were enacted against them till after the Revolution ‡; and as to Great Britain, the secular priests themselves acknowledge in their writings, that no person was molested there on account of religion, for the first eleven years after Elizabeth's accession; but after the publication of Pope Pius V.'s bull, which goaded the people into rebellion, many priests, jesuits, and laymen, were hanged or transported, not on account of their religion, but for treason, which was fully and unequivocally proved in the two following tracts, printed in her reign, "The Jesuits' Behaviour for the first 25 Years of Queen Elizabeth."—"The Execution of Justice in England, not for Religion, but for Treason." The latter was published at the instance of Lord Burleigh.

The following incidents, which took place on the accession of

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* A discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never subdued.

† It is probable, that Mr. Plowden's deep-rooted and envenomed prejudices against Elizabeth's government, and his rancorous abuse of it, arose from the following cause. He was bred a Jesuit at St. Omer's, and many persons of that order were hanged or transported during her reign, for having formed treasonable conspiracies against her government, and assassinations, and plots, against her life.

‡ In page 98, Mr. Plowden himself says, "other causes may, with great plausibility, be assigned for the non-execution of the penal laws, during the reign of Elizabeth's reign, in Ireland; whilst hundreds were put to death, and thousands suffered in their persons and fortunes under similar laws in England." The persons who drew on themselves the vengeance of the law in England, suffered for treason, not on account of their religion. What Mr. Plowden says here, in respect to Ireland, is a complete refutation of all his calumnies.

James

James I. prove, that the seeds of Popish combustion were deeply and universally diffused in Ireland, and that they were liable to be blown into a state of conflagration by the breath of accident.

The persons who attempted to proclaim that monarch, on the death of Elizabeth, in the principal cities of Ireland, were furiously assaulted by the Popish multitude, headed by their priests, and narrowly escaped assassination. They also forcibly seized the churches, placed guards at the doors, and had mass said in them. The only reason assigned by them for these treasonable practices, was, that the king was not of the Romish religion. All this is described at large by Moryson, who tells us, that the Bishop of Cork reported, "that a most seditious sermon was preached there by a priest, teaching, that he could not be a lawful king who was not placed by the Pope, and sworn to maintain the Roman religion." At Wexford, they did not proceed to such extremities, and the reason assigned by them was, that they heard the king was a Roman Catholic. The commissioners of Munster reported to the lord deputy, "that one termed a legate from the Pope, with many priests, had gone in solemn procession at Cork, hallowing the church, and singing mass therein publicly, the townsmen having placed guards of armed men at the church-door, and at the porch; and taking the sacrament in like sort, to spend their lives and goods in defence of the Romish religion, and thereupon taking boldness to offer wrong to the English, and to practise the getting of the king's forts into their hands." "That the citizens, by resolution taken in a public council, with their priests, had written to all the towns and cities, to assist them in defence of the Catholic faith; and had not only staid the king's munition, but laid it up in their own store-houses, and imprisoned the clerk who kept it*."

After such woeful instances of general and deep-rooted disaffection of the Irish Papists, founded in Popish bigotry, Mr. Plowden is very angry that they did not enjoy the special favour of James I. because, forsooth, he of course regarded them as the peculiar favourites of Heaven. We shall here give the observations of the very excellent writer whose Strictures on Mr. Plowden's ponderous work we are reviewing, to prove how grossly he has perverted historic truth in his remarks on this reign.

'The accession of the House of Stuart,' says Mr. Plowden, 'to the throne of England, and *consequently to that of Ireland*, forms a very notable æra in the modern history of that country; the conduct of the Irish to his family, and their treatment of them in return, furnishes a most melancholy illustration of that detestable policy of the Stuarts, which basely lavished that favour upon their *enemy* (the Protestants, I presume) which was the rightful *perquisite* of their faithful friend' (the Catholics).

"In answer to this accusation against the Princes of the House of Stuart,

* Moryson, p. 291.

I must

I must observe, first, that it does not appear to me to have been such very bad policy in most of the Kings of England of that race, to have entrusted the political power of the state to that party which obeyed their laws, supported their power, and, in consequence, preserved the connexion of the two countries; rather than to the opposite party, which hated the English power, fomented rebellion after rebellion, and, upon every favourable opportunity, endeavoured to extirpate the British name and nation out of their country. Secondly, it appears to me, that a great share of the guilt *(whatever it may be)* of that 'detestable policy,' belongs to the Protestant Parliaments of England, as well as Ireland; and that therefore, however inclined James the First, or any of his successors, might have been to bestow these *perquisites* upon their *faithful friend*, these assemblies would, to a certainty, have taken the liberty of interposing, and counteracting any *liberal* intentions which they might have formed, of entrusting the government of Ireland to a class of subjects, *implicitly obeying a foreign power*, whose code of ecclesiastical jurisprudence was not very favourable to the authority of an *heretical* Prince.

"Mr. Plowden seems quite to have forgotten, that there was at any period of our history a very well-founded horror of the maxims and practices of Popery, in so much so, that when one of this family (against which he seems to have such an implacable hatred), who was of a more *grateful* disposition than any of his predecessors, attempted to grant these said *perquisites* to his faithful *friends*, his enemies, namely, all the Protestants of England, who did not at all relish these *douceurs*, forced the *generous* James to abdicate the throne; and that soon after, the Protestants of Ireland, by their exertions at the battle of the Boyne, put an end to James's liberality in that kingdom.

"Instead of examining, therefore, what the very lively imagination of this writer has suggested to him, that the House of Stuart ought to have done, let us trace, in his work, the misrepresentations he has given of what they actually did.

"Mr. Plowden admits (and indeed he could not avoid it), that James the First was extremely anxious to ingratiate himself with the Irish; accordingly we find, that the first act of his government was an act of very unusual lenity; for he restored to his honours and *his lands*, that very rebel Tyrone, who, by his great rebellion in the last reign, had laid Ireland waste, or, as this writer tenderly expresses it, 'who, in the late commotions, had been very active against the government.' James created O'Donnel, who had been also 'very active against the government,' Earl of Tyrconnel; which favours they requited by plotting another rebellion, in concert with Spain and Rome, against the King's Irish government; which having been most fortunately discovered, they fled, and both found refuge with the Spanish King, and their friend, the Pope. Mr Plowden seems to have some doubts upon his mind, whether they were not 'the victims of a sham plot,' and apprehends, that they might have fled, not from a consciousness of their guilt, but from motives of fear only. Now, fear was no feature in the character of Tyrone. But Leland has exposed the absurdity of such a supposition, as well as accounted for its origin.

'The writers of the Roman Catholic party,' says this accurate historian, 'have asserted, without any proof, or circumstances of credibility, that they had been seduced into some private conferences by one of the family

family of St. Lawrence, and afterwards betrayed by him to the deputy; but had any art or treachery been used to render them obnoxious to the laws, they had the fullest opportunity of explaining the deep scheme, and leaving some memorial in vindication of their conduct, either in Spain or Rome, where they were entertained and *respected*; but as no such memorials have appeared in vindication of their conduct, they seem to have acquiesced in the charge of conspiracy against the English government, and to have recommended themselves to those of their *own communion*, as men who had sacrificed their honours and possessions to the freedom of their country, and the interests of their religion.' Vol. ii. chap. vi. b. iv. p. 423.

"In consequence of their flight, their extensive estates were forfeited to the Crown, and James proceeded to plant his northern colony, which laid the first foundation for civilizing Ireland.

"Mr. Plowden's readers would, from his work, be led to suppose, that this extensive district colonized by James, containing five hundred thousand acres, and comprising the greater part of the north of Ireland, was then a most flourishing and well-peopled tract of land; and, he moreover asserts, that the natives were 'forcibly dispossessed,' to make room for the new colonists. Now, all the writers whom I have consulted, agree in representing it to have been a tract of land partly covered with wood, in which rebels and robbers found a secure shelter, the remainder being desolated by war and famine; and that it must have lain waste, without the deliberate and vigorous interposition of the English government. Indeed, when we consider the characters of the former possessors, and particularly of Tyrone, it does not appear very probable (had we not even indisputable evidence to the contrary) that a country over which they presided, could have been the abode either of industry or civilization.

"James (say Leland and Hume), who affected to derive his glory from the arts of peace, resolved to dispose of these lands in such a manner, as might introduce all the happy consequences of peace and cultivation. The experience of ages bears the most honourable testimony to the design, and Ireland must acknowledge, that here the first foundations were laid of its affluence and security; and Ireland does acknowledge with gratitude her obligation to James! for the part of that kingdom thus colonized, the north, is at this day the seat of her staple manufacture, the linen; it is the great bulwark of the Protestant religion; it is the most flourishing, the best civilized, and the only generally well-affected part of that island.

"Had this gentleman, therefore, before he wrote his crude history of this celebrated northern plantation, taken the trouble to look into 'the orders and conditions to be observed by the undertakers,' &c. 'the project for the division and plantation of the escheated lands,' 'the commission of inquiry, with the articles and instructions annexed,' as also into 'Captain Pynnar's Survey, made at several times, and in several places, by virtue of the King's Commissions under the Great Seal,' all of which he might have found in that very valuable collection of Irish papers, entitled 'Harris's Hibernica;' and had he examined these *official documents* with an attentive and impartial eye, he must have informed his readers, that James, profiting by the example of the errors committed by Elizabeth in her ineffectual attempts at colonization, had formed his great plan in the manner most calculated to conciliate the native Irish, by a respect for their

habits

habits and prejudices, as far as was consistent with the great object of their civilization which he had in view; and that therefore, instead of driving the Irish into the hills and fastnesses, he allotted to them the plains; that he suffered them to choose, as under-tenants and servants, those of their own country and religion; and that, while the undertakers* and servitors† were all obliged to choose Scottish or English tenants (who were compelled to take the oath of supremacy), the former were tacitly exempted. That, moreover, 'he gave the Irish estates in *fee-farm*, at the yearly rent of ten pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence, for every portion of a thousand acres, and so rateably for greater proportions;' and that the only restraint he compelled them to submit to was, 'that they should take no Irish exactions, and that they should use tillage after the English manner.' Mr. Plowden acknowledges, in p. 105, that 116,330 acres of the 500,000 were allotted to the natives; and when it is recollected, that these lands were the plains, and, of course, the most fruitful, and that the mountainous and wooded parts were allotted to the undertakers and servitors, which they were obliged to clear and improve, the distribution appears to me to be very fair and equitable; and if Mr. Plowden, during his *three trips* to Ireland, had made one to the north, the present state of that famous plantation would have convinced him, by a comparison with the other provinces of that kingdom, of the inestimable obligations which Ireland owes to James I.

"As to the suspicions entertained of the Irish Catholics during the latter part of this reign, the precautions taken against them, and the manner in which James I. treated the deputation which the Popish cabal sent over to him, I must remind our readers, since Mr. Plowden has *inadvertently* forgotten to do so, that these circumstances all occurred after the fortunate discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, and the alarms of an *affiliated* conspiracy in Ireland; which were fully authenticated by the flights of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, and the daring practices of the ecclesiastical emissaries of Spain and Rome;—

'Ogni medaglio ha il suo reverso;'

but as Mr. Plowden thinks proper to give but one side of the medal, it became necessary to turn to the other, to see upon what occasion it was struck."

We shall conclude this reign with the following incident: In the year 1614, the Popish cabal sent a deputation to King James, to complain of grievances which they did not feel, and he gave them the following very proper answer: "You that are of a contrary religion, must not look to be the only law-makers; you that are but half subjects, should have but half privileges; you that have an eye to me but one way, and to the Pope another way. The Pope is your father *in spiritualibus*, and I *in temporalibus* only; and so you have your bodies torn one way, and your souls drawn another. You that send your children to seminaries of treason, strive henceforth to become

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* "The company of merchants in London."

† "Those who held civil or military employments in Ireland."

true subjects, that you may have *cor unum et viam unam*, and then I shall respect you all alike; but your Irish priests teach you such grounds of doctrines, as you cannot follow them with a safe conscience*, but you must cast off your loyalty to your King †."

In no instance has Mr. Plowden so grossly perverted historic truth, for the purpose of degrading and vilifying the British government, as in asserting that they were unwilling, and refused to extend the benefit of the English laws to the Irish nation, and therefore, that they wished to keep them in a divided and barbarous state. He endeavours to prove this by one passage garbled from Sir John Davies's "Discovery of the Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued, nor brought under Obedience, &c.;" and Mr. Plowden says, "the reflections of Sir John Davies upon this state of the Irish, made about 200 years ago, may be thought by some to depict the fatal policy of the English government towards Ireland, with more faithful impartiality than a modern writer could receive credit for." It is most certain, that Sir John has made some insinuations to this purpose, merely with the view of flattering James I. The passage in Sir John Davies, on which Mr. Plowden depends to substantiate this groundless assertion, is the following: "This then I note as a great defect in the civil policy of this kingdom, in that, for the space of 350 years, at least, after the conquest first attempted, the English laws were not communicated to the Irish, nor the benefit and protection thereof allowed unto them, though they earnestly desired and sought the same; for as long as they were out of the protection of the law, so as every Englishman might oppress, spoil, and kill them, without controulment, how was it possible they should be other than outlaws, and enemies to the crown of England? If the King would not admit them to the condition of subjects, how could they learn to acknowledge and obey him as their sovereign?" Page 83. As he was Attorney-general under James I. and being in expectation of receiving still greater favours from him, he endeavours to condemn the policy, and to depreciate the efforts, of former Monarchs to civilize Ireland, for the purpose of enhancing his merit in having completely accomplished it. He therefore says, that "every error had been corrected, and the defects supplied, under the prosperous government of King James;" and again, "I am now come to the happy reign of my most gracious lord and master, King James, in whose time there has been a concurrence of many great felicities; so this, among others, may be numbered in the first rank, that all the defects in the government of Ireland have been fully

* What would King James say, were he now living, at seeing a college established, and richly endowed, at Maynooth, for the education of Popish priests?

† These observations of King James are in the second Appendix of the second part of this very excellent author, whose work we are reviewing.

supplied

supplied in the first nine years of his reign; in which time there has been more done, in the work of reformation of this kingdom, than in the 440 years which are passed since the conquest was first attempted." This is base and groundless calumny and adulation, which is evinced by the general tenor of this work; and it is completely contradicted by the following observation contained in the sixth page of Sir John Davies: "Upon consideration of the conduct and passage of affairs in former times, I find the state of England ought to be cleared of an imputation which a vulgar error hath cast upon it, namely, *that Ireland might long since have been subdued, and reduced to civility, if some statesmen, in policy, had not thought it more fit to continue that realm in barbarism.* Doubtless, this vulgar opinion hath no grounds, but did first arise, either out of ignorance, or out of malice*; for it will appear by this discourse, that ever since our nation had any footing in this land, the state of England did earnestly desire, and did accordingly endeavour, from time to time, to perfect the conquest of this kingdom; but that in every age there were found such impediments and defects in both realms, as caused an almost impossibility that things should have been otherwise than they were." The whole of this extract, taken from the work of Sir John Davies quoted by Mr. Plowden, is strictly true; and he confirms it by observing †, "that the Kings of England were hindered from finishing this conquest by great and apparent impediments." Henry II. by the conspiracy and rebellion of his sons against him, soon after he returned to England. Richard I. went to the holy war, was in a state of captivity in Austria, and was obliged to pay a very large sum for his ransom; besides, Ireland belonged to his brother John. King John held his crown by a bad title, and he was shaken on his throne of England, by serious quarrels with the Pope and his Barons, who invited the French to invade it. Henry III. by a constant scene of civil war with his Barons. Sir John Davies adds, "Into these troubled waters, *the Bishops of Rome did cast their nets*, and draw away all the wealth of the realm, by their provisions and infinite exactions, whereby the kingdom was so impoverished, as the King was scarce able to feed his own household and train, much less to nourish armies for the conquest of foreign kingdoms." Edward II. by the rebellion of the Barons, and the invasion of the Scots under Edward Bruce. Edward III. by his wars in France. Henry V. was constantly engaged in the same. Richard II. Henry IV. Henry VI. and Edward IV. were diverted

* No doubt, Mr. Plowden shews much malice in fabricating, and in endeavouring to prove it.

† This very excellent work of Sir John Davies, contains but 196 pages; and as Mr. Plowden often quotes it, and praises the author for his veracity, what opinion must the reader entertain of this apologist of the Irish rebels, who selects one solitary passage, for the purpose of calumniating the British government?

from the conquest and improvement of Ireland, by domestic contention for the crown *.

Davies himself, in page 154, says, that during the dreadful factions of the Houses of York and Lancaster, "The Irish found opportunity, without opposition, *to banish English law and government*, and to confine it to the English pale."

It is certain, that much praise is due to James I. for his settlement of Ireland; but it could not have been accomplished, had not Queen Elizabeth quelled a general rebellion, occasioned principally, as Davies observes, "by the faint prosecution of the war against Tyrone, *the practices of Priests and Jesuits*, and the expectation of aids from Spain."

Davies, page 70, acknowledges, that this general revolt, when it was overcome, "did produce a general obedience and reformation of the Irishrie, which ever before had been disobedient and unreformed; and therefore ended the final and full conquest of Ireland."

Sir John allows, with Matthew Paris, that at a council held at Lismore, in 1172, Henry II. granted the laws of England to the Irish, by whom they were gratefully received †, and that all present took an oath of allegiance; but as soon as he returned to England, they rejected the English laws, violated their oaths, and went into rebellion; and therefore they were no longer considered as subjects, or had protection as such. Again, Sir John Davies, page 19, observes, on the arrival of King John, "The Irish lords, for the most part, submitted themselves to him, as they had done before to his father, *which was but a mere mockery and imposture*: for his back was no sooner turned, but they returned to their former rebellion; and yet this was reputed a second conquest." Such of the Irish as chose to enjoy the benefit of English law, and continued in their allegiance, were enfranchised by special charter; but few of those charters are earlier than the reign of Edward II. so that the English Government bore with the perjuries, rebellions, and enormities of the nation above a century, before it put them out of the King's peace. Many septs of the Irish, sensible how much superior the English laws were to their own barbarous municipal customs, petitioned the Kings of England for charters of denization, and obtained them; though they were often opposed by the great Irish Lords and Chieftains, as they would check their tyranny and licentiousness.

Sir John Davies, page 75, tells us, that the Ostmen, or Danes, who lived in Waterford, where they settled in the 9th century, obtained a charter of denization from Henry II. which was afterwards confirmed by Edward I. In the same page Sir John gives some instances of such charters granted in the reigns of Edward I. and Ed-

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* Davies, from page 56 to 68.

† *Ubi leges Angliæ ab omnibus sunt gratanter receptæ, et juratoria cautione præstita confirmatæ.*

ward

ward IV.* This evinces, contrary to Mr. Plowden's assertion, that those who wished to enjoy the advantages of the English laws, could at any time attain it.

The following passage, extracted from Davies, page 71, proves that the English Monarchs were very desirous of establishing universally their laws in Ireland. "That King John, in the 12th year of his reign, did establish the English laws and customs here, and placed sheriffs and other ministers to rule and govern the people according to the law of England; and to that end he was attended by wise men skilled in the law, by whose advice he ordained and appointed, that the laws of England should be observed in Ireland, as we find it recorded among the patent rolls in the Tower, 11 Hen. III. M. 3."—Sir John tells us also, that "King Henry the Third did grant and transmit the like charter of liberties to his subjects of Ireland, as himself and his father had granted to the subjects of England †, as appeareth by another record in the Tower, 1 Hen. III. M. 13." And afterwards, by a special writ, did command the Lord Justice of Ireland, that he should convene the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, and Barons, &c. and order that the charter of King John should be read in their presence; that he accordingly did so, when they swore to observe and obey the laws and constitutions of England, 12 Hen. III. Claus. M. 8." And afterwards again, the same King by letters patent under the Great Seal of England, did confirm the establishment of the English laws made by King John, in this form:—*Quia pro communi utilitate terræ Hiberniæ, ac unitate terrarum, de communi consilio provisum sit, quod omnes leges et consuetudines quæ in regno Angliæ tenentur, in Hiberniæ teneantur, et eadem terra ejusdem legibus subjaceat; ac per easdem regatur, sicut Johannes rex, cum illuc esset, statuit et firmiter mandavit: ideo volumus, quod omnia brevia de communi jure, quæ currunt in Angliâ, similiter currunt in Hiberniâ sub novo sigillo nostro.*

Sir John Davies says, in page 86, "that King John made twelve shires in Leinster and Munster, namely, Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Uriel (now Louth), Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry and Tipperary;" and he adds, "yet these counties did stretch no farther than the lands of the English colonies did extend. In them only were the English laws published and put in execution; and in them only did the itinerant justices make their circuits and visitations of justice, and not in the counties possessed by the Irishrie, which contained two-third parts of the kingdom ‡."—But how could it be otherwise, when Sir John Davies tells us, that the submission of the Irish to King John was "*but a mere mockery and*

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* Sir John Davies, in page 167, mentions that many of the Irish Captains of lesser territories, claimed the benefit of English law to protect them from the oppression of their superiors, and did obtain it.

† This was Magna Charta.

‡ Because they could not be executed but at the point of the sword.

imposture;" and it is most certain, that wedded to their barbarous Brehon law, they shewed an inveterate hatred to the English; for notwithstanding the efforts of Henry II. John, and Henry III. to introduce it among them, they even in the reign of the latter, rebelled, and collected such a formidable force, as to flatter their party with the hope of completely expelling the English—"*omne genus Anglorum, Hiberniæ finibus exturbare*," says Matthew Paris. Accordingly Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, that "*omnes fere Anglici ab Hiberniâ turbebantur.*"

Sir John Davies, page 87, informs us, that Edward I. "did transmit the statutes of England to Ireland, in this form—*Dominus rex mandavit breve suum, in hæc verba, Edwardus dei gratia, rex Angliæ dominus Hiberniæ &c. Cancellario suo Hiberniæ salutem.*" He then, after mentioning them, says—*Quæ in dicta terra nostra Hiberniâ, ad communem utilitatem, populi nostri, ejusdem terræ observari volumus.*

Sir John Davies tells us, that "Richard II. thinking the reformation of Ireland a work worthy of his own presence and pains, made two royal journies, mentioned before; at which time he received the submissions of all the Irish lords and captains, who bound themselves *both by indenture and oath*, to become and continue his loyal subjects; and withal, laid a project for a civil plantation of the mountains and maritime counties, between Dublin and Wexford, by removing all the Irish septs from thence, as appeareth by the covenants between the Earl Marshal of England and the Irish septs." He tells us also, "that he took special care to supply and furnish the courts of justice with able and sufficient judges;" but he says, "that all his good purposes and projects were defeated by his sudden departure from Ireland, and his deposition from the throne of England. He then observes, "since whose time (viz. Richard II.) until the 39th of Elizabeth, there was never any army sent over of a competent strength to subdue the Irish, but the war was made by the English colonies, only to defend their borders; or, if any forces were transmitted, they were sent only to suppress the rebellion of such as were descended of English race, and not to enlarge our dominion over the isle." Davies tells us, that "between the 10th year of Edward II. and the 30th of Edward III. by the concurrence of the mischiefs before recited, all the old English colonies in Munster, Connaught and Ulster, and more than a third of Leinster, became degenerate, and fell away from the crown of England, so as only the four shires of the English pale remained under the obedience of the English law." To remedy these evils, which threatened a complete extinction of the English interest, and a separation of the two kingdoms, a law was passed at Kilkenny, in the 36th year of Edward III. when the Duke of Clarence, his third son, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by which it was made high treason to form an alliance with the Irish, by marriage, nurture of infants, called fosterage, or gossipred; and by the same law, if any person of English race should adopt an Irish name, or Irish apparel, or should use the Irish language, his lands and tene-

ments

ments should be seized, till he gave security to the Chancery to conform himself in every respect to the English manner of living. By the same law it was ordained, that the English in all suits and controversies should be ruled and governed by the English law, and that all such as should submit themselves to the Brehon law should be adjudged traitors. The English were also prohibited from making peace or war with each other, or with the bordering enemy.—Sir John Davies often praises this law, and shews the necessity of it, to prevent the English from assimilating to the barbarous customs of the native Irish, "with whom," he says, "they married, fostered, and made gossips, so as in one age the English, both lords and freeholders, became degenerate and more Irish in their language, in their apparel, in their arms and manner of fight, and all other customs of life whatsoever." He adds, for "fosterers and gossips, by the common custom of Ireland, were to maintain one another in all causes lawful and unlawful; which, as it is a combination and confederacy, punishable in all well governed common-weals, so was it not one of the least causes of the common misery of the kingdom."

Sir John then describes the manners and morals which the English acquired by assimilating to the Irish. "I omit their common repudiation of their wives, their promiscuous generation of children, their neglect of lawful matrimony, their uncleanness in apparel, diet and lodging, and their contempt and scorn of all things necessary for the civil life of man. These were the Irish customs which the English did embrace and use, after they had rejected the civil and honourable laws and customs of England, whereby they became degenerate, and metamorphosed, like Nebuchadnezzar."

Sir John Davies, p. 148, speaks thus of the effect of these laws: "That the presence of Lord Lionel, and these statutes of Kilkenny, did restore the English Government in the degenerate colonies, for divers years; and the statute of the 10th of Henry VII. which reviveth and continueth the statute of Kilkenny, doth confirm as much; for it declareth, that as long as these laws were put in use and execution, the land continued in prosperity and honour; and since they were not executed, the subjects digressed and rebelled from their allegiance, and the land fell to ruin and desolation. And withal, we find the effect of these laws in the pipe-rolls, and plea-rolls of this kingdom; for from the 36th of Edward III. when the Prince entered into his government, till the beginning of Richard the Second's reign, we find the revenue of the Crown both certain and casual, in Munster, Ulster and Connaught, accounted for, and that the King's writ did run, and the common law was executed in every of these provinces."

Mr. Plowden, whose work seems to have been written for the purpose of exculpating the Irish rebels, and of reviling the British Government, speaks thus (page 41), of these laws. "Imagination can scarcely devise an extreme of antipathy, hatred and revenge, to which this code of aggravation was not calculated to pro-

voke both nations *. One thing alone was left to fill the measure of calamity on one side, and oppression on the other. It was a system so grievous in its nature, that had it been confined to that disastrous period of the Irish history, I should have spoken of it with the same freedom I have used in narrating other barbarous usages †, which civilization and political liberality had long entombed; but recent revivals of this system of inhumanity, render it prudent for a modern writer to use others, rather than his own language, in retailing these ancient enormities."

In a note, Mr. Plowden says, "free quarters seem to be the modern appellation of this mischievous system of oppression; but unfortunately for Ireland, the reality has long survived its ancient appellation ‡."

Sir John Davies frequently acknowledges, that the Irish constantly shewed a strong aversion to English law, and English connexion. In page 154, he observes, "the English colonies being in some good measure reformed by the statutes of Kilkenny, did not utterly fall away into barbarism till the wars of the two Houses (York and Lancaster) had almost destroyed both these kingdoms; for in that miserable time the Irish found opportunity, without opposition, *to banish law and government out of all the provinces*; and to confine it only to the English pale."

But the English laws could not be enforced in any part of Ireland, which was not previously conquered and kept in obedience by the sword; and therefore Davies says, page 8, "for though the Prince doth bear the title of Sovereign Lord of an entire country (as our Kings did of all Ireland), yet if there be two third parts of that country wherein he cannot punish treasons, murders, or thefts, *unless he send an army to do it*; if the jurisdiction of his ordinary courts doth not extend into those parts to protect the people from wrong and oppression: if he have no certain revenue, no escheats or forfeitures out of the same, I cannot justly say that such a country *is wholly conquered*."

Spenser, Secretary to Lord Grey, Lord Deputy of Ireland in Elizabeth's reign, observes, in his very excellent treatise on that country, of the Irish, "the which, whensoever they make head, no laws, no penalties, can restrain; but that they do, in the violence of their fury, tread down, and trample under foot, all both divine and human things; *and the laws themselves they do specially rage at, and rend in pieces*, as most repugnant to their liberty and natural freedom, which in their madness they effect. So as it is vain *to speak of planting laws*, and plotting policy, till they be altogether subdued." And again the same writer observes, "it seemeth hard to plant any sound ordinance,

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* It was levelled only against the English subjects, who became brutal, ferocious, and rebellious, by associating with the native Irish.

† It was calculated to prevent and remedy them.

‡ This is the rancorous overflowing of Popish bigotry.

or to reduce them to a civil government, since all their ill customs are permitted unto them."

What opinion must the reader entertain of Mr. Plowden's candour and veracity, when in various parts of his work he calumniates the Government by asserting, "that they were unwilling to give the Irish the benefit of the English law, in order to civilize them," when so many unequivocal proofs appear to the contrary. In page 35, he says, "It was the ill-fated policy of the English Government of that day, not only not to coalesce and unite with the native Irish *, but to go every possible length in fomenting and perpetuating dissention, animosity and hatred between the two nations."

Observations of this kind are frequently made in Mr. Plowden's work, for the purpose of calumniating the English Government, which he never misses an opportunity of doing; and yet his dulness is such, that he has quoted some passages from writers of undoubted authority, which completely refute what he endeavours to substantiate on this point. Thus in page 22, he observes, "Finglass, Chief Baron of the Exchequer in the reign of Henry VIII. says, that the English statutes passed in Ireland are not observed eight days after passing them, whereas those laws and statutes made by the Irish on their hills, they keep firm and stable, without breaking them, for any favour or reward." He quotes the following remark of Sir John Davies on the Government of Elizabeth: "*That to inure and acquaint the people of Munster and Connaught with the English Government again* (which had not been in use amongst them for the space of 200 years before) Sir Henry Sydney had instituted two presidency courts in those provinces." This shews an evident desire of the English to introduce their laws amongst the Irish. In the year 1596, when there was a treaty of peace between the Government and the native Irish, Mr. Plowden observes, that one of the terms required by the latter was, "that no garrison, *sheriff or other officer should remain in any of their counties.*" A sure proof that they spurned at the English laws. He tells us also in the same page, 85, "that the Council gave it under their hands, *that it was an universal Irish rebellion, to shake off all English Government.*"

In all the treaties made between the Government and the Irish Chieftains, one condition, urged by the latter, was to be exempt from English law and English officers. Thus M'Guire, Chieftain of Fermanagh, gave 300 cows to free his country from a sheriff †. In two different treaties with that arch rebel the Earl of Tyrone, the Lord Deputy insists, "that he shall permit, throughout Tyrone, her Majesty's officers of justice, as the sheriffs and others, to have free liberty to execute their offices, as is accustomed in other provinces and counties of the realm, and answer all other duties formerly agreed on ‡."

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* Because they became barbarous and rebellious by so doing.

† Moryson, page 12. ‡ Ibid. pages 23, 194.

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